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HISTORY AND CHANGES OF SWEDISH MIGRATION POLICY

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Abstract

The article describes migration policy in Sweden and changes within immigration and integration policies. Sweden uses multicultural model which is based on cherishing both cultures, the culture of majority as well as the migrant's original culture. Very important part of the integrational process is education, especially language and culture learning. Adults are offered special free courses, children study Swedish language and culture at school as part of the curriculum.

Key words

integration policy, immigration policy, multicultural model, Sweden

1. Introduction

Swedish migration policy has changed a lot during the 20th century, from assimilation policy after The Second World War, which was mainly connected with labour migration, to multicultural approach, which is connected with family reunion and migration of refugees. Nowadays, Swedish integration policy is based on multiculturalism, therefore the knowledge of Swedish language and the society of the hosting country is as important as migrant's mother tongue, which gives the members of the minorities opportunity to choose their own identity.

According to A. Baršová & P. Barša (2005) the migration policy is divided into two policies that influence each other: immigration policy and integration policy. Immigration policy controls entrance of migration into a country and decides who and under what conditions can settle down. Integration policy deals with integration of all migrants into the society.

The main purpose of the article is to introduce the development of Swedish migration policy and to describe the most important reforms which were made. The main methodology consists of secondary analysis of sources dealing with Swedish migration policy and participant observation from the author's one year fieldwork experience at a Swedish secondary school in Eskilstuna. During this experience, the author was offered a teaching position that enables him to participate in Swedish secondary education system and to observe how young migrants were educated under the guideline of the Swedish migration policy at a close distance.

2. Swedish Immigration Policy and its changes

The period after the Second World War in Western European and Nordic countries was characterized by industry boom and because there was not enough

labourhood on the domestic markets, companies started to look for new employees from other European countries. Swedish companies focused mainly on the Central, Southern and Northern Europe. Since 1947 there were migrants coming mainly from Austria, Hungary and Italy (Hansen, 2001). During 1950's and 1960's the focus was broadened to other South and South East European countries such as Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008). A result of "The Agreement on the Freedom between Nordic Countries" signed in 1954, was a big migration wave from Finland, between 1954 and 1974 around 500 000 Fins came to Sweden. However, most of them eventually moved back to Finland (Benito, 2011).

According to C. Lundh, R. Ohlsson (1999) there were three reasons for increasing labour migration: 1. Establishment of common labour market between Nordic countries in 1954, 2. Common and organized recruiting process, 3. Liberalisation of migration policy and its practise. The companies chose their new employees very carefully, some of them even sent their human resource workers abroad to select suitable candidates (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008).

Since 1967, due to incoming migrants, the labour market started to be saturated and the unemployment rate increased. As a result, the number of people coming as labour migrations from non-Nordic countries declined (Segal et al., 2010). In 1972 the Swedish government stopped the stream of labour migration from non-Nordic countries completely. After this the main category which migrated to Sweden were asylum seekers and family members coming in order to reunite their families (family reunion).

The number of asylum seekers arriving during 1970's and 1980's was quite small thus most of them were accepted. However, since mid-1980's more migrants started to apply for asylum which opened a political debate about asylum politics (tab. 1) (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008).

The first step to stop the boom with asylum applications was to decrease migration from certain countries by using visa policy. The citizens of these countries had to apply for visa before they were allowed into the country. The countries which were impacted were mainly countries whose citizens previously misused the advantages of Swedish immigration policy. For example, the visa policy was introduced for citizens of Chile, Romania and Bulgaria in 1989 and former Yugoslavia in 1992 (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). The second step was to support return migration. The Swedish government financially subsidised migrations who wanted to return to their home countries as well as organizations which dealt with return migration (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008).

From 1997 until now the Swedish asylum politics divides asylum seekers into these 4 groups:

1. Quota refugee (UN refugee): Every year Sweden accepts asylum seekers who live in poor living conditions and whose life is in danger. They usually do not have enough money either for quality life or for moving to another country. Quota refugees receive resident permit as well as accommodation in the host country already before their relocation which differs them from the other groups of asylum seekers. Swedish government along with about 25 other developed countries cooperate with "The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees" on

Tab. 1. Residence permit issued to non-Nordic nationals by categories

Year	Refugee	Family	Labour	Student	Adoptees	EU/EEA	Total
1981	3 857	7 938	918	391	-	-	13 104
1982	6 266	6 440	983	366	-	-	14 055
1983	3 668	6 149	632	476	-	-	10 925
1984	5 413	6 561	237	509	1 141	-	13 861
1985	7 314	6 944	98	478	1 372	-	16 206
1986	11 486	9 670	171	646	1 244	-	23 035
1987	14 042	12 387	222	678	1 319	-	28 648
1988	16 125	15 093	257	855	1 003	-	33 333
1889	24 879	18 029	167	821	776	-	44 672
1990	12 839	22 221	263	1 143	917	-	37 383
1991	18 663	21 230	300	969	1 086	-	42 248
1992	12 791	19 662	215	1 233	916	-	34 817
1993	36 482	19 796	159	1 611	880	-	58 928
1994	44 875	25 975	127	1 086	884	6040	78 987
1995	5 642	19 707	190	1 504	794	4 649	32 486

Source: Westin, Dingu-Kyrklund, 1997, p. 13.

that matter (The Swedish refuge quota, Migrationsverket, 2015).

If there are more quota refugees at the same place they will be offered preparation program prior to the relocation to Sweden. This course takes 2 or 3 weeks and focuses on the main issues which are essential for the life in the new country. After the arrival to Sweden the migrants will be offered the basic orientation courses which includes 60 hours of social orientation and Swedish language course called Swedish for Immigrants (SFI, in Swedish Svenska för Invandrare). Moreover, everyone is offered a financial support for 2 years under a condition that they will follow a plan which was created for them (The Swedish refuge quota, Migrationsverket, 2015).

2. Convention refugees: These refugees are defined by Geneva Convention from 1951. The difference between them and quota refugees is that they don't have residence permit and accommodation arrangement prior to their arrival, they have to apply for all of these in Sweden (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). Convention refugees are defined by Geneva Convention: "It is everyone who is owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside of the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such event, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." (The UN Refugee Agency..., 2017). The Geneva Convention binds all countries who signed it to accept all refugees defined by the Convention (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999).

3. Asylum seekers in need of protection: This terminology started to be used in 1997. There are three cases when a refugee can be defined as an asylum seeker in need of protection: 1. In case of return to migrant's home country he or she would be tortured or sentenced to death or would suffer from other physical punishment. 2. A person who cannot return to his or her home country because of a war or a natural disaster. 3. A migrant who feels in danger in his or her home country because of his sex or homosexual orientation (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999).

4. Humanitarian refugees: This group contains refugees with physical or psychical handicap, it is mainly those who fled from a war or a civil war in their countries (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999).

In 1997 the Dublin Regulation was ratified by all European Union countries, Island, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. The main objective was to appoint one country for each of the asylum seeker, which is going deal with his asylum application. In

case the migrant will not meet the requirement for granting asylum he or she will not be able to apply anymore within the territory of Dublin Regulation countries (Azy, 2015).

The criteria which are used to determine the state responsible for dealing with asylum seekers applications are ordered according the decision process:

1. Family procedure: The responsible state is the one where applicant's family members already applied for asylum or resident permit.

2. Issue of residence documents of visas: The state which already issued visas or resident documents for the applicant is responsible.

3. Entry and/or stay: The responsible member state is the one where the asylum seeker first crossed the border into the territory. If this cannot be proved the country where the migrant currently lives now will be in charge of the application.

4. Visa waived entry: If the migrant enters a state in which a need for him to have visa is waived, that country will be responsible for dealing with his application.

5. The first application for asylum: The country where the asylum seeker first asked for international protection is responsible (Azy, 2015).

As mentioned above, along with migration of asylum seekers, family reunion was also very important source of migrants in Sweden. The migration of migrants' family members started already in 1950's but the first time when it attracted a proper attention by Migration department was in 1976. Until the mid-1980's there were between 5 000 and 10 000 migrants who came to Sweden as part of family reunion per year. After this the number started to grow and culminated in 1990's when there were around 20 000 migrants' family members arriving annually (tab. 1) (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). The migrant's family member can obtain residence permit in Sweden without having working permit. The permit can be given to a husband or a wife and unmarried children under age 20. Under special circumstances it could be also migrant's older parents (for instance parents older than 60 years or because of humanitarian reasons) or the last migrant's relative in his home country (Lundh, 2005).

Sweden became a member of the European Union in 1995 which increased possibility of migration from other member countries (Westin, Dingu-Kyrklund, 1997). The obligation of possession of residence permit and work permit was abolished for citizens of all member states and Liechtenstein. Citizens of Switzerland, which is part of Schengen Area, must apply for residence permit, Icelandic and Norwegian citizens were not obligated to have any permits since the 1954 as part of "The Agreement on the

Freedom between Nordic Countries". From this point forward the rights which previously had applied only on Nordic countries could have been enjoyed by all the European Union's members (EU-medborgare..., 2015). If European Union citizens want to stay in Sweden more than 3 months they have to fulfil at least one of these conditions:

1. The migrant must have a job in Sweden or be self-employed.
2. The migrant studies in Sweden, is registered in one of the educational institutions and has a valid medical insurance.
3. The migrant has enough financial resources to secure himself of herself and his or her family and has a valid medical insurance.
4. The migrant is looking for a job in Sweden and has realistic chance to find it (Flytta till Sverige, 2015).

From 2006 the EU citizens could apply for residence permit in very easy way at Migration Board, they could even start to look for a job before this. The restrictions applied for labour migrants from other countries outside of the European Union until 2008 (Benito, 2011). Before this the permanent residence permit was granted to the third country citizens only if the manpower couldn't be satisfied within EU/EEA. For example, in year 2000 only 433 these residence permits were granted for labour market reasons. The majority of such migrants came from the USA, Russia and China (Sweden in..., 2001). "From December 2009 Sweden accepts all categories of work migrants. The only condition is that the job seeker has to get an employment offer for more than one year. If they lose the job for any reason they can stay in Sweden for three months searching for a new job. At the end of this period they either find a new job or they have to leave the country. This change in

the law began to be in force the 15th of December" (tab. 2) (Benito, 2011, p. 10).

All migrants have one common obligation which is registration at Financial Department. In order to be successfully registered the applicant must declare proof that he or she is going to live in Sweden for at least one year. After this the migrant receives personal number which is very important for life in Sweden. Moreover it gives right to study in free Swedish courses (Flytta till Sverige, 2015).

3. Swedish Integration Policy and its changes

Although, Sweden doesn't belong to the group of typical immigration states such as the USA, Canada or Australia, its integration policy is similar because it is also built on multicultural approach. Migrants are involved in political process which helps their integration into the society (Castles et al., 2014). Immigrant minorities are granted the option of integrating into Swedish society without being required to assimilate culturally. They may decide whether they wish to assimilate into Swedish ways of life or maintain their distinct native culture (Westin, Dingu-Kyrklund, 1997, p. 8).

The multicultural model started to develop in Sweden in the second half of 20th century when the number of migrants increased due to labour migration. After the Second World War the Swedish integration policy was based mainly on the idea of assimilation (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008). In 1967, when the labour migration from non-Nordic countries was aborted, the discussion about other new ways to integrate migrants started. Although, the number of new migrants was not increasing as fast as in 1950's and mid-1960's, the integration of migrants remained a very serious issue for Swedish government

Tab. 2. Residence permit issued by categories 2005–2015

Year	Refugee	Family	Labour	Student	EU/EEA	Total
2005	8 859	22 713	5 985	6 837	18 069	62 463
2006	25 096	27 291	6 257	7 331	19 387	86 436
2007	18 414	29 515	9 859	8 920	19 387	86 095
2008	11 237	33 687	14 513	11 186	19 398	90 021
2009	11 265	38 332	17 954	16 487	17 606	98 644
2010	12 130	30 287	16 373	14 188	14 480	91 458
2011	12 726	32 469	17 877	6 836	23 226	93 134
2012	17 405	41 156	19 936	7 092	25 501	111 090
2013	28 998	40 026	19 292	7 559	20 712	116 587
2014	35 642	42 435	18 872	9 267	7 394	110 610
2015	36 645	43 414	19 975	9 410	2 791	109 235

Source: Migrationsverket.

(Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). At the end of 1960's and the beginning of 1970's following idea was promoted: "The assimilation policy could only increase cultural differences, where else multicultural policy, which is connected with interaction of minority and majority society, can have a positive impact on the whole society" (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999, p. 109).

The crucial for development of multicultural policy was year 1975, when the Swedish government ratified new integration policy whose main idea was to give all migrants the same privileges as Swedes as well as let them keep their own culture (Vogel et al., 2002). The new integration policy was based on three pillars: equality, free choice and cooperation. The migrants in Sweden had the same rights as Swedes in health care, education, safety at work and social system. They also gained right to vote in regional elections and the naturalisation process was simplified (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008). Moreover, some other changes were made, for example: the schools started to teach also in mother tongues of the migrants, Swedish courses were free of charge and libraries received money for a purchase of literature in migrant's languages (Gropas et al., 2007). This new approach can be considered as breakthrough because it was in contradiction with the previous assimilation policy. This step can be perceived as a beginning of a multicultural society in Sweden (Darvishpour, Westin, 2008). Since 1975 until today the integration policy's main goal is to provide same rights, protection and opportunities for everyone regardless of their ethnic and cultural background (Dastserri, Ullenhag, 2013).

Language is an important aspect of integration because without its knowledge a migrant's orientation in working environment and cultural of the society will be limited. The first Swedish course was introduced in 1950's but only refugees could participate. The need of learning Swedish was growing thus Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) was introduced in 1965. SFI was available for all migrants in Sweden. There was no tuition fee and it aimed to equipping all the migrants with basic Swedish knowledge so they could integrate into the working process and Swedish society easier. At first, the course took place after working hours, in 1970 every migrants was entitled to 200 hours, where for 60 of them the migrant could get salary from his employer (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). Two years later the course consisted of 240 hours and all of them took place during the work time (Järtelius, 1982; Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). Apart from language another important obstacle of integration appeared. Many migrants lacked knowledge about Swedish society, labour market and Swedish working environment therefore a new "Orientation

Course" was opened in 1971. The course introduced basic values of the society and rights and duties so migrants could better understand Swedish lifestyle and be able to defend themselves when needed (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999).

New school reform dealing with education of migrants' mother tongue was introduced in 1976. In 1970's some of the counties offered these mother tongue courses for children and the reform brought opportunity for all migrants' children to study their mother tongue at preschool, elementary and secondary level. The main focus was on elementary and lower secondary level (from 1st to 9th grade). Statistics show that in 1971 only 3 800 students studied their mother tongues but after the reform the number grew rapidly: in 1978 it was already 42 300, at the beginning of 1980's it was over 50 000 and in 1990 there were almost 65 000 students signed for the course. In 1989 two thirds of all migrants' children studied in the course with 118 different languages covered (Lundh, Ohlsson, 1999). "An important reason for giving immigrant language a place in ordinary school system was that this recognized the value of "immigrant" culture and linguistic background and gave immigrants' children a freedom of cultural choice. The development of child's first language is also believed to facilitate the subsequent development of full linguistic competence in Swedish" (Lundberg Litman, 1987, p. 43).

Education of Swedish language also plays a significant role in integration of migrants' children. The new student is put into an international classroom after his arrival to the school. In the international classroom the main focus is given to Swedish language so the students can communicate as soon as possible. The rest of the subjects are usually taught in their mother tongues. The teachers are also migrants who previously came to Sweden. Every student is allocated to a "Swedish" classroom where he or she is going to move after his or her Swedish reaches satisfactory level. The students meet their future classmates already when they are in the international classroom, for instance at lunch (where the whole class has to sit together) or at trips. The second step is gradual integration into the "Swedish" classes (major society). This process is slow and always depends on every individual student. At this point the student already has a basic knowledge of Swedish so he or she is already able to study some easier subjects (usually it is social studies, physical education, art etc.) in "Swedish" classes. The student returns to the international classroom to study the rest of the subjects in his or her mother tongue. The last step is full integration into the "Swedish" classroom. At this point students' Swedish is on a high level, they don't

need to stay in the international classroom anymore because they can study all subjects in Swedish.

The education of Swedes and migrants differs even after the integration. The migrants' children need special approach in teaching Swedish thus the Swedish lessons are divided into two groups: 1. Swedes, the native speakers and 2. Migrants for whom Swedish is second language. Both of the teaching approaches and also tasks which the students have to undertake differ in these two groups. The Swedish course for migrants focuses on broadening of Swedish language and vocabulary boost. The most common task in the lesson is essays or grammatical exercises. The government stressed importance of both, Swedish and native language, which proves that Sweden tries to develop multicultural society. The immigrant should know language of the major society, so he can better integrate, as well as his native language so he can understand his origin.

There are two actors of Swedish integration policy, national and municipal authorities. In 1985 the main responsibility for integration practise moved to municipal authorities which were financed by the state. They are supposed to provide service for migrants in different fields: accommodation, social services and education (Lundberg Litman, 1987). "All national authorities have a legal responsibility to pay particular attention to the needs of immigrants within their respective field of jurisdiction and to propose measures when deemed necessary" (Lundberg Litman, 1987, p. 22).

In 2008 a new reform, which changed the main distribution of the responsibilities, was introduced. The municipal authorities still possessed a significant share of responsibility for integration of migrants but the main responsibility moved to national authorities (Fredlund-Blomst, 2014). Each ministry is responsible for integration issues within respective area and the coordination of integration policy was assigned to The Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Its main areas were: the introduction of new arrivals, Swedish citizenship, anti-discrimination and anti-racism, the promotion of democracy and human rights and evaluation of integration policy. The area of education and accommodation remained under municipalities' competence (Swedish integration policy, 2015).

The main issue which the reform focused on was migrant's employment. This was the first time after several decades when migrants from European Union could arrive in order to find a job. Before it was mainly people searching for asylum or family reunion who were allowed to immigrate to Sweden. The first goal of the reform was to let people with

certain profile and skills arrive to Sweden so they could enrich labour market and fill the working positions which didn't have enough applications from Swedish population. The second goal was to integrate all migrants into the labour market as fast as possible therefore the basic education was needed. These courses were essential to reach the target: Swedish course, Course orientation in the Swedish society and other courses which prepared migrants for their future job (Fredlund-Blomst, 2014). Additionally, a new pilot project was introduced in 2009 and 2010. After arrival the migrant would be interviewed by the authorities in order to find a link between the migrant's skills and knowledge and the demand on labour market. As a result, a plan was made which included migrant's future job, residence, courses which he or she should take etc. (Swedish integration policy, 2015). Each migrant who successfully strive to integrate into the society was eligible for a financial subsidiary. In September 2013 it was around 308 Swedish crowns per day (around 50 American dollars), moreover they could get up to 4 500 Swedish crowns (700 American dollars) as supplementary benefits for children and up to 3 900 Swedish crowns (600 American dollars) as a housing benefit (Fredlund-Blomst, 2014). Swedish government used a financial factor as a motivation for new comers to integrate.

4. Conclusion

Sweden is one of the countries which chose multicultural approach for its integration policy. The main aspect is a support for both cultures, the migrant's original culture as well as Swedish culture. The migrants can decide which aspects of Swedish culture they will follow. After the Second World War the assimilation model was the core of integration policy, the multicultural model started to be taken into account in the second half of 20th century when the number of migrants increased due to labour migration. After 1972, when the labour migration was completely abolished, the main migration groups were asylum seekers and family members coming in order to reunite their families. Year 1975 brought introduction of a new reform which was very important for development of multicultural integration policy. The new integration policy was based on three pillars: equality, free choice and cooperation. Migrants received the same rights as Swedish in many important areas.

Language is a very important aspect of integration because without its knowledge the migrant's options are limited. Sweden offers free Swedish

courses for all adults and children. The adults study in SFI courses which were first introduced on 1965. The children study Swedish as part of their curriculum at elementary or secondary school. Their integration process is divided into three steps:

1. The main focus is on learning Swedish, the children spent most of their time in an international classroom.
2. The children study easier subjects in "Swedish" classroom and return to the international classroom to study more difficult subjects.
3. When the children's Swedish reaches sufficient level they start to study all subjects in "Swedish" classroom.

Many migrants lacked knowledge about Swedish society thus "Orientation Course" was opened for them in 1971. The course introduced basic values of the society, rights and duties so the migrants could better understand Swedish lifestyle and society.

The Swedish migration policy is based on education of Swedish language and Swedish cultural values and habits however the migrants' culture is also taken into account. The migrants can freely decide whether they accept Swedish culture or they keep their own culture which in many cases can lead the fusion of both of the identities.

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